

Executive Summary

Implementation of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) Scheme in Bangalore: An Assessment of Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP)

1. Introduction/ Background:

In recent years, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) has been one of the most significant initiatives of the Government of India, aiming at meeting infrastructure needs of Indian cities, improving quality of life of people and speeding up the process of governance reforms. With this background, the objectives of the Mission clearly emphasise infrastructure development, asset creation and asset management, ensuring adequate funds for cities, scaling up service delivery, planned development of cities and providing basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices.

1.1 Present research

Keeping in view the extent and coverage of JNNURM, it is important to analyze the actual implementation of the Mission on the ground. With this broad premise, the present study has the following objectives:

- To analyze policy and institutional frameworks at state level and its conformity with the frameworks and guidelines suggested by the Government of India
- To analyze the key procedures adopted in the implementation of JNNURM in Bangalore city
- To assess the extent of implementation of JNNURM scheme on the ground with special reference to Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)

1.2 Scope of the study

JNNURM has two Sub-missions administered by two different ministries at Central level. In the present study we have taken the specific case of the Sub-Mission for Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). The scope of this research study includes the following:

- Analysis of the state-level policy and planning frameworks with respect to the guidelines and tools provided by the Government of India, with special reference to BSUP
- Inclusion of peoples' inputs from the BSUP project locations in Bangalore. For this 20 slums - 10 slums from Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagar Palike (BBMP) administered projects and the rest 10 from Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) projects - were selected.
- For policy, planning and implementation-level clarity, discussions were also held with key officials of MoHUPA, State-Level Nodal Agency, and implementing agencies like BBMP and KSCB.
- This study also attempts to incorporate views of NGOs, CBOs and researchers and media reports on JNNURM and BSUP.

2. JNNURM and State-level policy and institutional frameworks

2.1 Institutional arrangements made for the JNNURM :

JNNURM envisages a well-established and inter-linked institutional arrangement to address key aspects such as policy oversight, appraisal and sanction of proposals, operational oversight and monitoring and advisory support. Some salient aspects of institutional arrangements are as follows:

- ➔ The suggested institutional arrangements at the state level are similar to those at the national level. Like the National Steering Group (NSG), the State-Level Steering Committee (SLSC) is an apex body in each state. The SLSC is entrusted with the responsibility of identifying, deciding and prioritizing projects for inclusion under the JNNURM. Any project

of the State which is sent to the Central Sanctioning and Monitoring Committee (CSMC) has to be first scrutinized and approved by the SLSC.

- ➔ The State-Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) is the designated agency by the respective State governments to assist SLSC in performing its functions. SLNA is responsible for the overall implementation of the scheme and functions outlined by the JNNURM guidelines.
- ➔ At the lowest level of this institutional arrangement is the Urban Local Body (ULB) or implementing agency at city level, which is responsible for actual implementation and delivery of projects under the scheme.
- ➔ In Karnataka, the State Government has designated KUIDFC as the State-Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) for the implementation of the JNNURM. The key functions of the KUIDFC is managing grants of the Mission, placing proposals before SLSC for approval, maintaining the revolving fund, monitoring physical and financial progress of the projects and overseeing the reform process as agreed in the Memorandum of Agreement with the Government of India.
- ➔ Deviating from the JNNURM guidelines, Karnataka has a State-Level Empowered Committee (SLEC). This SLEC consists mainly of bureaucrats from concerned departments, KUIDFC, BBMP and KSCB and does not have representation from elected representatives. It has been entrusted with all the responsibilities prescribed for the SLSC and SLSC is merely a signing authority.
- ➔ The functions of the ULB or Implementing Agency are not clearly laid out either in the Central guidelines or at the State level.
- ➔ The functions of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) as outlined in the tool-kit are ideally the functions of the ULB or Implementing Agency. However, from the tool-kit it is not clear whether the PIU is located as a unit within the ULB / Implementing Agency or whether it can be any agency or body appointed for the functions of project implementation.
- ➔ In BBMP there is no separate PIU. Instead they have Project Management Consultants (PMCs). On the other hand, KSCB has set up a PIU only recently.

3. Analysis of Bangalore's CDP

Every city under JNNURM is expected to prepare a CDP indicating policies, programmes, strategies and financing plan.

3.1 Salient features of Bangalore's CDP

Bangalore's CDP is broadly divided into three volumes. While Volume 1 and 2 are devoted to elaborate discussions on governance and urban infrastructure, Volume 3 analyses and makes recommendations on the BSUP.

3.2 In-depth analysis of the existing situation

- ➔ Since the CDP was formulated before November 2006, it has accounted BMP, CMC and TMC data separately and not merged them under BBMP.
- ➔ According to the CDP, the total population of BMP, 7 CMCs and one TMC taken together is 56.86 lakhs as per 2001 Census and adding peripheral villages the population comes to 61.70 lakhs. However, BBMP data on population including CMCs, TMC and 111 surrounding villages is 58.40 lakhs. There is lack of consistency in the data given on the urban poor and slum population in the CDP.

- ➔ The CDP gives only number of slums and households in BMP, CMC and TMC areas. The details on economic and employment base of these slums are not there either in the CDP or the BSUP volumes. The BSUP CDP does not give any demographic profile (like age-disaggregated data, sex ratio, migrant population, occupational status, income levels, number of BPL families, etc.) and uses the term “poverty” in a very generic sense.
- ➔ The CDP also indicates that only 17% of the slum-dwellers have access to safe drinking water, drainage system and waste collection services and more than 50% of them do not have access to proper sanitation. The CDP presents a contradictory picture when it states that infrastructure is reasonably good but outlines inadequacy of services available to the slum dwellers
- ➔ The multiplicity of organisations and overlapping jurisdictions have been outlined by the CDP as a cause of concern as it has led to conflicts and difficulties in urban governance.

3.3 Development of a Vision and CDP for the City

- ➔ The CDP claims that it has evolved out of a participatory approach and consultative process undertaken at different stages of CDP preparation. During March-May 2006, a series of consultations were held with various stakeholders like Government Agencies, ULBs, citizens, trade unions, elected representatives and NGOs. However, from the consultations' schedule it is evident that each of these addressed a particular set of stakeholders and none of these consultations had multi-stakeholder participation.
- ➔ A CDP already put together by consultants was placed before the stakeholders. A situational profile of ‘where the city is’ currently, in terms of the demography, economic profile, infrastructure status, etc., was not placed before the stakeholders so that they could arrive at a vision of ‘where they would like to take their city’. The different strategies available for reaching a particular vision and the various financial alternatives available for funding the strategies were neither placed before the stakeholders nor discussed with them as required under the Toolkit #2 for the preparation of the CDP. A pre-planned budget amounting to Rs. 14,000 crore under various sectoral heads, such as ‘roads, water supply, slum upgradation, etc.’, was placed before the stakeholders for their mere approval.
- ➔ Both the volumes (I & III) claim that decisions, analysis, vision, objectives and strategies were finalized with various stakeholders. From the minutes of the meeting and sequence in which these were held, it is apparent that the CDP formulation process was participatory only in name. Beneficiaries and elected representatives were not included in the process. The NGOs working proactively on urban issues were called at the end of the process and there were no multi-stakeholder consultations. Hence, the suggestions given by the NGOs do not find a place in the CDP.
- ➔ There is no explanation or clarity on the term “security of tenure”. Whether it means ownership of property or lease or sale deed, needs to be clearly stated. The beneficiaries are under the impression that they will receive the “hakku patra” or “patta” or ownership rights on the new houses being provided to them, while the authorities responsible for the implementation of the project have denied any such provisions.

3.4 Growth drivers for Bangalore

- ➔ There is a full chapter in the CDP devoted to factors affecting growth and development of the city and a SWOT analysis. Delay in policy formulation and implementation in urban governance has been considered as one of the threats.
- ➔ While projecting land use pattern, the CDP takes data from the draft BDA CDP. Although these figures give the projected land use pattern of Bangalore city in the year 2015, it does

not reflect on present and future per capita land availability in the city.

- ➔ The general population is projected as 108 lakhs in the year 2021. There is no population projection made for the urban poor or slum population, even in the BSUP volume. Reason for not projecting this is the Government's supposed commitment towards making Bangalore a slum-free city.

3.5 Preparing a City Investment Plan and financing strategy

- The CDP lists 11 types of projects eligible for funding under the JNNURM, which broadly cover housing facilities, rehabilitation, slum improvements, providing civic amenities, creation of social infrastructure (like health and child care facilities and community centres), O&M of assets created under the project and integration of welfare schemes for the poor. The CDP also makes certain stipulations, for instance on the size of the dwelling (268 sq.ft.), the material to be used, etc., and has accordingly made estimates for each facility to be provided under BSUP.
- With these assumptions and recommendations, the CDP estimates cost of BSUP in Bangalore as 6,034 crores. This figure is inclusive of housing, infrastructure, O&M costs, awareness programmes, consulting cost for preparation of the DPRs, etc. What is missing is the analytical backdrop to these suggestions.
- In most of the cases it was observed that these recommendations of the CDP have not been implemented. Most BSUP projects are limited to providing housing facilities to the urban poor and do not integrate the other amenities.

4. Detailed Project Reports (DPRs)

4.1 Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) of BBMP slums

A glaring lacuna is the absence of a link between the DPRs and the CDP and the MoA. For the projects under BSUP, the BBMP has submitted two DPRs, one for the Pilot Projects and another for the projects under Phase I. The five Pilot slums include Kalyani slum, Jasma Bhavan (Austin Town), Kodihalli, Bakshi Garden and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Slum. The slums covered under Phase I are: Samatha Nagar Slum, URS Colony, Indira Gandhi Slum, Vinobha Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar (Austin Town), Ambedkar Slum (N. S. Palya), Ambedkar Slum (Vasanth Nagar), Anatha Ashrama Slum, Ambedkar Slum (Shivaji Nagar), Muniyappa Garden, Gopalapura, Gowtham Colony and R. K. Mutt (Basavanagudi). The format followed in the Phase I DPR is identical to that of the Pilot Project DPR. Some key points emerging in the BBMP DPRs are as follows:

- 4.1.1 Studies and Investigations:** Topographical details in the form of drawings and socio-economic details of selected slums have been provided. However details like occupational status and income levels have not been outlined in the DPR. The DPR provides details of existing infrastructure in all five slums which broadly cover aspects like housing, water supply sewage system, power supply, storm-water drains, roads, pavements and social infrastructure like primary health centers and schools within vicinity.
- 4.1.2 Proposed Developments:** The DPR gives details of technical design of dwellings. The three basic premises upon which the proposal is based are: relocation of families from huts/temporary shelters to new houses, transformation of unhygienic slums into multi-storeyed tenements, improvement of basic infrastructure and conferment of land tenure.
- 4.1.3 Institutional framework:** The DPR discusses the project delivery mechanisms and institutional framework to sustain the O&M. Creation of JNNURM cell and appointment of BSUP officer-in-charge (chief engineer) within BBMP are outlined in the DPR. The DPR suggests appointment of a service provider who would render the operation and

maintenance of the infrastructure in the slums like water supply, sanitation, storm-water drains, power supply, solid waste management and street lighting.

However the DPR is silent on the roles and responsibilities of BBMP with regard to project implementation and monitoring of project progress. From the study it is clear that beneficiaries are not aware of any O&M charges to be paid in the future. The DPR also does not point out rate of increase in charges over time and how the revised rates should be decided.

4.1.4 Project soft issues: DPR recommends channelisation of the loans for fulfilling beneficiary contribution of 12% through SHGs who would collectively obtain the loans and distribute among the beneficiaries. There is a proposal to provide transit camps to all the beneficiaries in nearby BBMP vacant land. Necessary water, sewerage and electricity connections will also be provided in the transit camps and it is responsibility of BBMP to liaise with the concerned agencies.

4.1.5 Identification of beneficiaries and security of tenure: On security of tenure the DPR states, *"To ensure that the dwelling units are not transferred or 'sold' by the beneficiaries, suitable protection clauses have to be proposed to be included in the 'Hakku Patra'. The physical handing over of the 'Hakku Patras' could be aligned to the repayment of the loans taken in lieu of beneficiary contribution"*.

In this elaborate description of beneficiaries and security of tenure, the DPR fails to provide clarity on some essential facts such as:

- What are the criteria followed in selecting beneficiaries?
- What are those "suitable protection clauses" to ensure the dwelling units are not transferred or sold?
- What are the rights of beneficiaries on the new dwelling unit?
- Has BBMP shared these provisions / security of tenure issues with the actual beneficiaries?

Lack of clarity on these issues has generated confusion on the ground and people have either been misinformed or not informed on this issue clearly. The field investigations done for this research study clearly indicate this problem.

4.1.6 Financial and operating plans: The DPR gives the detail of funding pattern for each project components like housing unit, infrastructure, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M expenses and so on. The total beneficiaries' contribution as calculated is approximately 7% of the total project cost. Roughly 10% and 5% of the total budget have been allocated to social infrastructure and IEC activities respectively. However, the fees paid to the consultants for their services at different stages of the project is not mentioned in the DPR. In none of the DPRs, IEC strategies and components are mentioned and it is therefore not clear how BBMP is going to implement the IEC activities. The study also indicates that while preparing the DPRs, BBMP has not taken any feedback from the stakeholders involved in the process.

5. Detailed Project Reports of slums under KSCB

Out of a total 1957 declared slums in the state, there are 219 declared slums in Bangalore city and it is the responsibility of KSCB to develop, upgrade and rehabilitate declared slums. There are 3 phases of BSUP projects implemented by the KSCB.

5.1 Introductory sections: A glaring lacuna is the absence of a link between the DPRs and the CDP and the MoA. In almost all DPRs, introductory sections are common. Growth of Bangalore city, connectivity and demographic details are outlined in most of the DPRs and

even content of these sections are common across DPRs. In some DPRs first few sections give an overview of implementation framework, organisational vision, mission of KSCB and general socio-economic conditions of slums in Bangalore. It is important to note that discussion with people on the housing, project design and other details have not been given any place in the implementation schedule mentioned by the KSCB.

5.2 Profile / background of the Project: In a few of the DPRs, a detailed profile of project areas has been presented. But apart from number of dwellings to be constructed and cost estimates, most of the DPRs do not give other details.

- In the case of some DPRs even a basic demographic and socio-economic profile is also missing.
- In several DPRs list of beneficiaries is not attached.
- In some DPRs, important components like transit accommodation, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M of the project and consultancy fees have not been factored in the DPR.
- None of the DPRs have details of costs for O&M, consulting and IEC activities.
- None of the DPRs portray the convergence of BSUP with the other social sector schemes and infrastructure.
- Provision of transit accommodation is missing in every DPR.

6 Implementation of BSUP in Bangalore

Some key reference points of this analysis are the following:

- Selection of BSUP projects in Bangalore
- Physical components of the project
- Key process issues on the ground
- Peoples' involvement at various stages of the project
- Role of agencies, local bodies, NGOs and private sector in the implementation of BSUP

6.1 An overview to selected slums

Name of KSCB slums selected for the study	Rajendranagar, Nellupuram, Agraharadasahalli, Panthrapalya, Bhuvaneshwarinagar, Bheemshaktinagar, Srinivaspura, Laggere, Chikbomsandra and Saddarmangla.
Name of KSCB slums selected for the study	Bakshi Garden, Kalyani, Kodihalli, Jasma Bhavan, Gopalpura, Indira Gandhi Slum, Anatha Ashrama, Muniyappa Garden, Gowtham Colony
Discussions with Beneficiaries	Held in 18 slums except Sadarmangala and Chickabommasandra as beneficiaries of the project could not be identified.
Methodologies followed	Focused discussions with beneficiaries, detailed survey at household level, discussion with key people like community leaders and people directly involved in the execution of project, local NGOs and CBOs.
Average participation	On an average 15 members participated in these discussions. These discussions were held in respective slums. Most of the participants of these discussions belonged to Scheduled Caste (SC) communities, followed by Muslims, Christians and other castes.

6.2 Quality of existing housing and civic amenities in Bangalore's slums

The current status of housing and civic amenities reflect that people have very low access to basic amenities. Very few households have individual connections of water and therefore, majority of them are dependent on public taps / municipal supply and community tank. Sanitation and solid waste disposal are other issues, which need urgent attention. A very high percentage of people are living in single room dwelling, with no separate kitchen. Most of the people stay in semi pucca

houses, made of asbestos and cement; or sheets and plastic sheets or have kuchcha houses made of mud, thatch and plastic sheets.

6.3 Provision of transit housing

DPRs of BBMP and KSCB outline the need to provide housing during this transit period. But none of the DPRs of KSCB have made provision for transit arrangement and nor have they budgeted for this. The implication of this is clearly seen on the ground. But in the DPRs of BBMP, the need for transit accommodation has been mentioned and it has also been factored into the budget. However, even with these arrangements, there were several problems for the people.

6.4 BSUP implementation: Impressions from the ground

CDP's Proposal and Recommendations	Actual Implementation of BSUP
Number of Households to be covered under BSUP: 2,17,257	14,754 dwellings by KSCB and 1,691 by BBMP. Total number of units to be constructed by both agencies is 16,445 dwelling units.
Upgradation of 219 declared slums is the responsibility of KSCB; the remaining slums are the social obligation of BBMP.	This demarcation of slums between BBMP and KSCB is being followed, though the number of slums covered by them is less than envisaged in the CDP. The criteria for the selection of slums is not clear.
Encouraging public-private-partnership in BSUP	Private players have been given the role of consultants and contractors by the respective implementing agencies. No other specific role to private players.
In situ development of slums and providing multi-storey housing	In most of the slums this model is being followed.
Identifying new areas in the outskirts and providing houses either on G+2 type or multi-storey construction	Sadaramangala, Laggere and Chickabommasandra are some examples of such projects. However there is no clarity on who will be the beneficiaries of these projects.
It is recommended to split the entire programme in to three distinct phases and each phase of work would be completed in eighteen months' time	Phase-wise demarcation is done, though none of the projects have followed the time-line and there is time escalation in all the projects.
Good governance with strong emphasis on participation, accountability, transparency, rule of law and responsiveness of the Government	Very few examples of governance with strong values. In fact it is just the opposite of what the CDP has suggested.
Involving communities and stakeholders in decision-making process	Absent in most of the projects. On an average only one meeting was held by the implementing agency, which broadly explained the project design. In some slums even that basic meeting did not take place.
Community centres and community toilet blocks will have to be located in each of the slums where there is a provision for underground drainage facility (UGD).	Not followed in each slum. Even DPRs do not outline why this has not been followed.
It is recommended that 542 schools and public health centres (one school and one public health centre for each slum) be established by the Government in the slums identified to cater to the need of primary education and basic health	Not being followed. Even in project slums, this component and social infrastructure are missing.

services. These public health centres can co-exist with community centres so that common facilities like electricity and water could be shared.	
For the purpose of operation and maintenance it is estimated that 20% of the cost of assets would be required to maintain the assets for a period of five years after construction. After this period it is recommended that the ULBs charge the inmates for the provision of services to recover the O&M costs	DPRs of BBMP have factored O&M expenses in their cost details. This component is missing in all KSCB DPRs. There is no discussion with the people on this.
The CDP recommends adoption of a State legislation by which at least 20% of the developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) would be earmarked for Economically Weaker Section (EXS) as well as Low-Income Group (LIG) categories.	No progress has been made
Cost of construction of a house: Rs 1.75 lakhs	Cost exceeds 1.75 lakhs
Security of tenure to be given to people	No clarity on this. It is one of the most critical aspects not addressed by the Government / agencies

6.5 Selection of project areas and beneficiaries

The CDP recommends that 2,17,257 households should be covered by the BSUP and all 542 slums should be covered with education and health care facilities. The actual implementation is of a much smaller scale. The total number of dwelling units in different phases to be constructed by both the agencies are less than 16,500.

Table: Number of slums covered under BSUP

Implementing Agency/ ULB	Number of slums covered in various phases of the project	Number of Dwelling units built/ to built under various phases of the project
BBMP	18 slums	1691
KSCB	55 slums	14754

Source: Status report of KUIDFC October 2009

On the selection of slums, the following key issues emerge from this study:

- The CDP has not provided any specific criteria for selecting slums under BSUP project. Instead the CDP aims at covering as many slums as possible for this project.
- None of the DPRs explain why a certain slum has been selected for this project and DPRs have not mentioned the minimum basic requirements needed for a slum to qualify for this project.
- The implementing agencies have ignored even the general recommendations of the CDP. The actual number of beneficiaries covered under the project is much less than the CDP's assessment.
- The issue of selection of project arises from the fact that in some slums people are opposing this project and they claim that the respective implementing agencies are imposing the BSUP project on them.

On selection of beneficiaries the following are the key points:

- People are keen to get patta / ownership right to their existing dwelling. Lack of clarity on this aspect has made people suspicious of the intent of this project.

- People are demanding regularization of pattas and their extension to every household.
- Idea of living in group housing / multi-storey buildings and sharing the space with many others does not appeal to many people and they feel that the quality of their existing dwelling is better than what BSUP scheme will provide them.
- About 50% of the respondents said that there was a public meeting organized by the NGO and respective agencies where names of the beneficiaries were announced and discussed.
- According to the guidelines, the DPR should mention the names of beneficiaries based on a socio-economic survey and this list should be notified and published on the website of the ULB / implementing agency. This guideline has been violated by many DPRs.

7. Key components of the Project and process issues

Main Components	Key Processes Associated
Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP)	Socio-economic and infrastructure analysis, visioning exercise and stakeholders' participation in recommendations and identification of priorities.
Detailed Project Report (DPR)	Socio-economic and infrastructure profiling of the slum, stakeholders' participation
Bio-metric card to the beneficiaries	Socio-economic survey, discussions with beneficiaries prior to the launch of project
Transit housing	Implementing agency/ ULB has to provide this facility prior to construction of new dwelling units
Peoples' contribution and installments	Discussion with beneficiaries, their consent on installments, role of NGOs in mobilising self-help groups and providing access to easy bank loans at affordable rates.
Quality and timely construction of dwellings and other amenities	Formation of beneficiaries' group to do day-to-day monitoring, third party monitoring, regular status report to the SLNA, in this case to the KUIDFC
Operation and Maintenance (O&M)	Formation of beneficiaries' group, discussion with the beneficiaries on O&M of project, deciding the rates and managing the O&M over the years.
Ownership and tenure	Security of tenure to be given to people, discussion on this, clarity to be established and people to be well informed

7.1 Socio-economic surveys and bio-metric cards

As per the guidelines of the Ministry, the DPRs should include details of the survey, of biometric cards and of beneficiaries. From a closer look at most of the DPRs, it is evident that this norm of socio-economic survey and identification of beneficiaries has been sidelined in case of many projects. A majority of residents (about 40%) did not have bio-metric cards at the time of the field work for this study.

7.2 Beneficiary contribution to the project

- Beneficiary contribution to the extent of 12% of housing unit cost is permissible under BSUP, with some relaxations made for SC, ST and other weaker sections of the society. On an average, per dwelling cost estimated by various DPRs ranges from 1.8 lakhs to 2.5 lakhs
- The lack of such information in the DPRs and lack of transparency in this matter has forced people to pay whatever amount has been communicated to them. A large number of people

mentioned (83%) that there was no discussion on their contributions and number of installments of payment.

- Except for Kalyani slum where local NGO formed the self-help groups and attempted to secure bank loans, in all other slums people are dependent on their own arrangements.

7.3 New housing, Operation & Maintenance (O&M)

- At the time of this study, none of the beneficiaries were given their new housing facility. In many localities people are not happy with what is being offered by the BSUP JNNURM and hence the project is being rejected by them.
- The points of dissatisfaction arise when there is lack of communication from the implementing agencies or when alternate transit arrangements have not been made prior to the project. Most of the residents are aware of their housing plan, area and number of floors, as this is the only information shared by respective agencies and NGOs involved in the project.
- Apart from housing, people are also aware of other facilities like water, electricity and paved roads. The aspect which people are not aware of is that the facilities provided to them are not free and that they have to, in the long run, take care of O&M expenses.
- O&M will be jointly handled by the ULB/implementing agency and the beneficiaries' committees, but so far beneficiaries' committees have not been formed or proactive in most of the localities.

7.4 Security of tenure and ownership issues

- In the absence of an explanation of the term “security of tenure”, agencies have interpreted it in various ways.
- The officials of BBMP, KSCB and KUIDFC have stated that ownership is with the ULB / implementing agency.
- All the residents covered under this study are under the impression that they will get Hakku Patras or pattas (ownership right) over the new dwelling unit.

7.5 Process flow and institutional mechanisms

- In the case of BBMP, the functions related to implementation and day-to-day project management have been sub-contracted to Manasa Consultants and Urban Systems Pvt. Ltd, beside other contractors involved in the construction and provision of physical components of the project.
- On the other hand, the implementing agencies feel that JNNURM was launched without any preparation from their side. Proper training and guidelines were not given to them. As a result, they had to take help from various NGOs and consultants.
- One of the key concerns is meeting the time-line of the project. Most of the projects are behind schedule.
- On the other hand, beneficiaries have not been communicated the expected time of project completion.

8 Way Forward

Based on the inputs given by various stakeholders during the course of this research, following are some suggestive ways towards improving the implementation of JNNURM and similar future projects.

- ➔ The BSUP CDP gives an overview of slums and the urban poor in Bangalore. It is suggested that implementing agencies should conduct an assessment of housing need across various slums and accordingly a data-base of people in need of housing should be prepared. This information should be supplemented by the agencies / consultants preparing the DPR and they should reaffirm the criteria while outlining the details of the project.

- ➔ The approach to implementation of BSUP is similar to that of any previous project and peoples' involvement has been negligible. It is important to apply principles of participation on the ground at various stages of the project. Right from selection of area and beneficiaries to the implementation of project and management of facilities, involvement of beneficiaries has to be ensured. In on-going projects, creation of beneficiaries' association and transferring responsibilities of regular monitoring, operation & maintenance to them need to be done. For all future projects people need to be involved right from the initiation of the project.
- ➔ As discussed, the element of participation is inadequately implemented in the project. The need of the hour is involvement of beneficiaries as well as other stakeholders such as local representatives, NGOs and other government departments. In the initial stages of the project, an attempt was made to incorporate opinions of stakeholders, but it was limited to the preparation of the CDP. It is important to facilitate platforms like City Technical Advisory Group (CTAG) and other such forums where these stakeholders meet and share their opinions on the implementation of the project.
- ➔ Third party monitoring is suggested under JNNURM and implementing agencies / ULBs are the selecting agencies / institutions to do the third party monitoring. NGOs, beneficiaries and local representatives who are working in the area and monitoring the implementation have little say in the third party monitoring and it is focused on the technical aspects of the project. It should be made mandatory for the agency who is monitoring the project to incorporate opinions of people, civil society and government on the project. The parameters should not be strictly technical and financial but also consider time-lines, social parameters, peoples' problems, their satisfaction level, flow of information, participation and other such elements.
- ➔ A greater role for the local government and elected representatives has to be brought into the implementation of the project. It is mentioned in the CDP but in actual implementation it is almost negligible.
- ➔ A communication channel needs to be established disseminating key information on the project, the budget, time-line, completion and settling of grievances. BBMP / KSCB need to develop such platforms at various levels